

**Nationalism, class, and status:
how nationalists use policy offers and group appeals to attract a new
electorate**

**Codebook of dataset "natclass.dta"
Version 20 June 2021**

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Structure of the data	One observation (row in the dataset) refers to a party within an electoral district	
Variable	Definition	Source
election	Year of the election	
province	Name of the province	
mandvote	Dummy variable that equals one if an electoral district is located in a province that had compulsory voting for the 1907 election.	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908, Table VIII
illiteracy	Number of men over age 6 who can neither read nor write divided by the total number of men in that age group, measured at the level of provinces	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 63.2 1903, Table XXXII (p.XLVI)
gini	Gini coefficient of income inequality measured at the level of the provinces, based on 1911 income tax records	Michael Pammer 2013
district	Numerical identifier for electoral districts	<i>assigned</i>
district_name	Standardized name of the electoral district (name of province and count of districts within that province)	<i>assigned</i>
district_adlg	Historical name of district, following the naming conventions by historian Franz Adlgasser	Franz Adlgasser 2014
pop	Total population in each district	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908

qualified	Number of qualified voters in each district	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908, Tables V & VII
ballots	All ballots cast in a given district, first round 1907 election	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908
turnout	Ballots submitted divided by qualified voters in the district in the 1907 election, first round	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908
grzech	Number of people who self-declared Czech as their “language of everyday use”	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908
grgerman	Number of people who self-declared German as their “language of everyday use”	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908
s_cze	Number of people who self-declared Czech as their “language of everyday use,” divided by total population in each district (<i>grzech/pop</i>)	<i>computed</i>
s_ger	Number of people who self-declared German as their “language of everyday use,” divided by total population in each district (<i>grger/pop</i>)	<i>computed</i>
s_group s	Number of people who self-declared Czech (for Czech parties), respectively German (for German parties) as their “language of everyday use,” divided by total population in the district.	<i>computed</i>
workers	Number of qualified voters classified as “worker” in any sector	1907 electorate, k.k. statistische Centralkommission 91.1, 1912
indworkers	Number of qualified voters classified as “worker” in any of the following sectors: “Industry and Commerce”, “Post, Telegraph and Telephone”, “Railways and Tramways”, “Other Commerce and Transport companies.”	1907 electorate, k.k. statistische Centralkommission 91.1, 1912
agrworkers	Number of qualified voters classified as “worker” or “cottager” (<i>Häusler</i>) in the sector “Agriculture and Forestry”	1907 electorate, k.k. statistische Centralkommission 91.1, 1912
häusler	Number of qualified voters classified as “cottager” (<i>Häusler</i>) in the sector “Agriculture and Forestry”	1907 electorate, k.k. statistische Centralkommission 91.1, 1912
midclass	Number of qualified voters classified as “self-employed”, “public employee” or “cleric” across	1907 electorate, k.k. statistische

	all sectors	Centralkommission 91.1, 1912
urbmidclass	Number of qualified voters classified as “self-employed”, “public employee” or “cleric” across all sectors <i>except</i> “Agriculture and Forestry”	1907 electorate, k.k. statistische Centralkommission 91.1, 1912
industry	Sum of all qualified voters working in any type of occupation in the industrial sector (i.e. in “Industry and Commerce”, “Post, Telegraph and Telephone”, “Railways and Tramways”, “Other Commerce and Transport companies.”)	<i>computed</i>
agriculture	Sum of all qualified voters working in any type of occupation in the agricultural sector (i.e. “Agriculture and Forestry”)	<i>computed</i>
s_worker	Share of workers: Number of workers (<i>workers</i>) divided by the total number of qualified voters (<i>qualified</i>) in a district.	<i>computed</i>
s_indworker	Share of industrial workers: Number of industrial workers (<i>indworkers</i>) divided by the total number of qualified voters (<i>qualified</i>) in a district.	<i>computed</i>
s_industry	Share of industrial sector: <i>industry</i> divided by the total number of qualified voters (<i>qualified</i>) in a district.	<i>computed</i>
s_agriculture	Share of agricultural sector: <i>agriculture</i> divided by the total number of qualified voters (<i>qualified</i>) in a district.	<i>computed</i>
s_agrworker	Share of agricultural workers: <i>agrworker</i> divided by the total number of qualified voters (<i>qualified</i>) in a district	<i>computed</i>
s_häusler	Share of cottagers: <i>häusler</i> divided by the total number of qualified voters (<i>qualified</i>) in a district	<i>computed</i>
s_midclass	Share of the middle class: <i>midclass</i> divided by the total number of qualified voters (<i>qualified</i>) in a district	<i>computed</i>
s_urbmidclass	Share of the urban middle class: <i>urbmidclass</i> divided by the total number of qualified voters (<i>qualified</i>) in a district	<i>computed</i>

party_id	Numerical identifier for parties	<i>assigned</i>
label	Party label used in a given district	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908
party1	Standardized short party name (note: xlsx file “party labels” shows how we map electoral labels (<i>label</i>) onto <i>party1</i>)	<i>assigned</i>
partyname	Standardized long party name	<i>assigned</i>
votes	Number of votes cast for a party (first round of the 1907 election)	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908
voteshare	Number of votes cast for a party divided by the number of ballots (<i>ballots</i>) cast in the district (first round of the 1907 election)	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908
np	Number of parties that gained at least one vote in the district in the 1907 election, first round	k.k. statistische Centralkommission 84.2, 1908
ger	Identifier for German party document codings	Habsburg Manifesto Data (see Online Appendix for detail)
cze	Identifier for Czech party document codings	Habsburg Manifesto Data
nationalist_majEA07_2	Party was classified as a nationalist party in 1907: Dummy variable; takes the value 1 if coders identified <i>nationalism positive</i> as the first or second core issue in a majority of the 1907 election announcements of a party.	Habsburg Manifesto Data
dimsocEA07	Parties’ social policy offer in 1907, based on coded election announcements 1907: $\log(\textit{social equality positive} + \textit{social security positive} + \textit{public health positive} + \textit{public education positive} + 0.5) - \log(\textit{social equality negative} + \textit{social security negative} + \textit{public health negative} + \textit{public education negative} + 0.5)$	Habsburg Manifesto Data
dimnatEA07	Parties’ nationalist policy offer in 1907, based on the coded election announcements 1907: $\log(\textit{nationalism positive} + 0.5) - \log(\textit{nationalism negative} + 0.5)$	Habsburg Manifesto Data
p_pubeducEA07	Parties’ position on public education, based on coded election announcements 1907:	Habsburg Manifesto Data

	$\log(\text{public education positive} + 0.5) - \log(\text{public education negative} + 0.5)$	
p_groupEA07	<p>Parties' appeal to their national group, based on coded election announcements 1907:</p> $\log(\text{own group positive} + 0.5) - \log(\text{own group negative} + 0.5)$ <p>Note: own group positive/negative captures the categories "Czechs positive/negative" for Czech parties, and Germans positive/negative for German parties</p>	Habsburg Manifesto Data
rdimsocEA07	<p>Alternative measure of parties' social policy offer based on a logic of saliency:</p> $\frac{[(\text{social equality positive} - \text{social equality negative}) + (\text{social security positive} - \text{social security negative}) + (\text{public health positive} - \text{public health negative}) + (\text{public health positive} - \text{public health negative})]}{(\text{all issue categories} + \text{other issue} + \text{junk})}$	Habsburg Manifesto Data
rdimnatEA07	<p>Alternative measure of parties' nationalist policy offer based on a logic of saliency:</p> $\frac{(\text{nationalism positive} - \text{nationalism negative})}{(\text{all issue categories} + \text{other issue} + \text{junk})}$	Habsburg Manifesto Data
rp_groupEA07	<p>Alternative measure of parties' appeal to their national group based on a logic of saliency:</p> $\frac{(\text{own group positive} - \text{own group negative})}{(\text{all group categories} + \text{other group})}$	Habsburg Manifesto Data

Sources

- Adlgasser, Franz. (2014). *Die Mitglieder der österreichischen Zentralparlamente 1848-1918. Konstituierender Reichstag 1848-1849. Reichsrat 1861-1918. Ein biographisches Lexikon*. 2 vols. Vienna: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
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